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WITH THE BEANVILLE NATIVES.

Phil. Hafner Explains to Them that this is Not a Government by the People, but by Big Business.

The announcement that Phil Hafner would speak in the Beanville district was well circulated. Farmer Jones, who is one of the directors, opposed the use of the school house, but the other two directors held that Mr. Hafner had as much right to speak in the school house as the political preachers sent out by the "party," and Farmer Jones was overruled.

When the speaker arrived all were glad to see him and shook his hand. Pushing his way to the platform Mr. Hafner began:

I will not waste time telling you about the "intelligent farmer" and the "beautiful woman." I will leave that to the politicians next fall. I have come to tell you of the ignorance of the farmer, and that the farmer's wives and daughters might "slide up" and look pretty if they did not have to work so hard to keep up the appearances of the wives and daughters of those who farm the farmer.

You are a part of a large government—a huge family. You are told that the affairs of this government—this family—are conducted by you—the people. Most of you know better and feel like throwing a brick at the politician when he tells you so.

We are governed by business—Big Business! And the joke of it is that the interests tell you so and you don't understand. When they elect a mayor and other officers in St. Louis or any other city, don't they come out plainly and say "we want a business administration?" When they trotted out Taft two years ago, didn't they say "we want a business administration?" And you vote for it and then curse because they give you what they promised.

Now, it is all wrong to blame individuals for these conditions. "Every fellow for himself and the devil take the hindmost" is the motto that guides all of us—no matter how much we prate about "do unto others as you would have others do unto you." I evade paying taxes as much as possible because I know everybody else does. The merchant has his tricks and works them because he knows his competitors do. He has to do it or get out of business. Manufacturers adulterate their wares because their competitors do. The banker violates the law because other bankers do. The man who today hews to the line of honesty is almost sure to fail in business. He's got to lie; he's got to cheat. And the more "prosperous" a man is in business, the more certain it is that he is a pastmaster in these arts.

I have here the Success Magazine in which Charles Edward Russell, a noted magazine correspondent, has an article entitled "The Power Behind the Republic." In this article Mr. Russell clearly shows how business makes the laws it wants and unmakes those it does not want. He insists that business is bigger than government, bigger than laws, bigger than the constitution, and that everything must give way to business. He writes:

"Whenever public attention is called to the fact that some man has been pursuing the custom of his trade or calling and has fallen into trouble thereby, we start in to lambast the man. The whole trouble, in our eyes, is with the man; if he had been the right kind of man, his thing would never have happened. About three years ago the late E. H. Harriman was discovered to have taken the Alton railroad, loaded it down with unnecessary securities and disposed of these for his own profit and the profit of those associated with him in the deal. The echoes of the violent outcry raised over this performance still resound; Harriman was denounced by the moral guardians as an odiously bad man; one would have thought that never before had a 'melon been cut' no one would imagine what Harriman did had been done many times by every great railroad magnate; that it was the inevitable condition of the railroad magnate's trade; that he must do these things if he will retain his place and his power. Yet such are the facts. But the trouble, in the minds of the moral guardians, was always with Mr. Harriman's character; something was wrong there. If he were a different kind of a man he would not do these things, and so we took it out of him accordingly.

"In truth, we seem to be affected on all sides by a plague of bad men—bad men in our public

affairs, in our municipalities, and in our business. Bad men seem to be wonderfully numerous in America, and if it be true, as we are occasionally assured, that the product of one hundred and twenty-two years of our institutions is a race of men peculiarly and atrociously wicked, it would indeed be a shocking death of all public and private virtues, if this be really true, a foreigner might conclude after reading some of our utterances, the only thing to do with our venture in human government is to sink it.

"But, of course, every observer who, with any degree of attention, has gone about the world knows that everywhere people are about the same. The people of one country are morally not to be distinguished from the people of another country, and no country on earth raises a phenomenal product of good men or bad. It is only Chauvin and his tribe that hold faith in any geography of virtue. Conditions differ in different countries—that is true, and different conditions force men to adopt different methods; but the men remain about the same, and if we do not like the product, the place to lay our blame is on the conditions and not upon the men who are universally the victims of conditions.

"I will give an illustration. When a public scandal attention is called to the fact that a man in the conduct of his business has violated some law or police regulation, we think he has done wrong. It is wrong for him, in violation of the law, to obstruct the sidewalk, or in violation of the law to occupy space under the street, or to defy the building department; wrong for him to do these things, and wrong to pay for them and pollute the city for the illegal privilege of doing them. Of course, we are right in this thought. All these acts are wrong, but we overlook the fact that they are what may be called capitalized wrongs; that is to say, they have become part and parcel of the conditions under which business may be done, not alone by one man whom we condemn, but by all men. They are the established customs of the trade; they have become institutions more powerful than laws or police; we must bow to them. Neither wit nor will can stand against them. Suppose to the contrary. Suppose him to be of such moral fiber that he is able to stand alone and feel quite indifferent to the codes of his neighbors. Suppose him, therefore, to say, 'I will not use the space under the sidewalk, I will not obstruct the highways, I will not violate in the slightest particular the regulations of the government.' The only result would be that he would cease to do business. His own conscience, to be sure, will be free from any reflection that he departed from the prescribed duty of a citizen. If such a reflection would cause him any pain, but this will in no wise help the public nor vindicate the law. The man who takes his place will obstruct the sidewalk, defy the building department, and pay blackmail to the wardman inevitably as the sun shines. He will do these things, or things like them, or he in his turn will cease to do business. He may be at heart the best of men; most honest, upright, jealous of his good name and cherishing stern principles of civic duty, yet necessarily will force him, against his will, to do the things that are done in his trade, law or no law. He must do them; there is no other way. And if by any chance he be exposed and arrested and ruined as a penalty for doing some one of these things, the man who succeeds him at the old stand will do them no less; and so will the man across the street and the man in the next block. For such are the conditions of the trade, and no law of man's making can change them.

"Even for tax dodging something may be said, although it is the sort of payment of it; why should he put himself at a disadvantage compared with them? Business is business, and business has nothing to do with sentiment. He will pay what his rivals pay, and no more. We know all this to be true. What I am urgently suggesting here is that we cease to pretend that it is not true. I suppose that every discount bank in the city of New York habitually violates the law. The men who conduct these banks do not wish to violate the law; they do it, in fact, with some peril, because sometimes a bank goes to smash and then the gentlemen who have been transgressing the law face indictment and prison; but these are the conditions of the banking trade, and a bank can not change them. It can, of

course, shut up shop and retire from the trade, leaving the gentlemen hold-men quite free from any danger of imprisonment; but if it continue in the banking trade these are the conditions it will follow. Nothing is ever gained for the law by sending such gentlemen to jail; jails can not change inexorable conditions. If to-day we were to send them all to jail their successors tomorrow would continue to conduct the banks in the same way and not in another; because in this way alone can banks be conducted. The character of the men who conduct banks has nothing to do with this matter. All bankers, of all shades of character, stand here in the same category. Let a man be as pure as Chevalier Bayard and as disinterested as Washington, and if he conduct a bank he, too, will conduct it upon these lines.

"The truth is that business has become the real ruler of our affairs, and the United States is the first country to set up a business government; at present very crude and unbalanced, but nevertheless a Business Government. We have not admittedly done this, but it is the substance of our evolution, and all such changes become real long before they become acknowledged. As in the case of Rome under the emperor, the old forms and names of things are retained but are no longer potent nor have the old significance. Neither the Constitution nor the Supreme Court, nor the President, nor Congress, nor legislature, nor votes, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, may avail to withstand the new ruler. If the Constitution be an obstacle, it is interpreted out of the way; no less an authority than Elihu Root that moral guide and eminent philosopher, says so. If the Supreme Court decide in favor of an income tax, Business reaches out and compels it, almost overnight, to reverse its decision. If a law is passed obnoxious to Business, not all the clamors of the people, nor all the uproar of a strenuous president, shall secure the law's enforcement."

What Mr. Russell here relates is well known to all observers of passing events. This is not a government of and by the people, but a government of and by Big Business. And Big Business is not to blame. It is the natural development of the capitalist system which Karl Marx told us fifty years ago carries the germ of its own destruction. The only thing that can be done is to let it run its course. Your trust-busting and trust regulating, and all that nonsense only squanders the people's money and increases their taxes. Standard Oil, the steel, sugar, meat and other trusts are not to blame for having listed among their assets presidents, senators, congressmen, governors, state legislatures and judges of courts. The system forces them to it. Mr. Russell reaches this conclusion. I will read on:

"Thus because we maintain the pretense of a form of government that, practically speaking, no longer exists, Business is driven to secure by purchase of legislators, or the bribing of police, the ends that it must have. In the case we have already considered of the man whose trade conditions compel him to violate the law concerning land under the sidewalk, a government of pretense maintains this law upon its statute books, and Business, that is may maintain undisturbed the conditions essential to it, pays a public officer to condone the law violation. Business, finding it necessary to seize the public highways and deprive the people of their rights, resorts, under the government of pretense, to the city council, whose members it bribes into compliance with its wishes. Business under the government of pretense, being threatened with severe legislation, procures the State Capitol and there deals out wholesale corruption upon the representatives of the people. Business having a purpose to achieve at Washington, uses these influences and methods imposed upon it by the government of pretense, and these influences and methods degrade the dignity of the nation. Business having a purpose to achieve at Washington, uses these influences and methods imposed upon it by the government of pretense, and these influences and methods degrade the dignity of the nation. Business having a purpose to achieve at Washington, uses these influences and methods imposed upon it by the government of pretense, and these influences and methods degrade the dignity of the nation.

"It appears, therefore, as a proposition not open to dispute, that if we are to have government by Business we should have it frankly, honestly, without reservation, acknowledging the facts, conducting ourselves accordingly, and we should do away forever with the pretense that we have a government of any other kind. Then if the necessities of trade compel business men to occupy

land under the sidewalk, Business will abolish the law that forbids such occupancy and thereby abolish the corruption that the law entails. If Business finds that the presence of any man in the Senate is necessary to its purposes, it will announce the fact and choose the man without resorting to the purchase of a legislature. Whatever Business wants in a government conducted frankly and fairly by Business will be had without deception or cant."

We Socialists understand this, and therefore we take no stock in the attempted patch-work of the alleged "statesmen" of today. The men who elect to office do not understand these conditions, and they hope to cure the disease by politicking the eruptions—by working on results instead of the cause.

I talk along these lines tonight because I want you to understand what it is that governs, and hope you will get out of your head that foolish notion that the people rule. So long as your rulers can keep you nursing this delusion they are safe. Once you understand what it is that is pinching you, you'll find the remedy. Just before the holidays my old friend Jack Boone, a prominent Charleston lawyer, called on me, and in our conversation, he admitted that this is a republic in name only—that we have really a monarchy. And he's a good Democrat and a good lawyer.

Before I close I must tell you of a conversation I had with a Democrat up at Benton. He insisted that the people rule. I said to him, "You say the people rule. You have been familiar with our politics for 20 years. With the single exception of one time, when we turned heaven and earth to arouse the people to elect Senator Marshall for re-election to the senate six years ago, I want you to mention one time when a half dozen men in this county did not select the delegates to all national, state, judicial, congressional and senatorial conventions."

He couldn't do it. He was stumped. He admitted that a half dozen men had done it. And what is true of Scott county is true of every county. And they call this the "rule of the people." As a blind they often select a farmer who they are sure will not go, and at the same time they have a proxy written out for him to sign in favor of one of the gang.

But the old machine in the county is in a bad fix. The tires are all loose, many "spokes" are missing and they can't use "grease" enough to keep it from squeaking.

I bid you good-night.

THE DIFFERENCE.

In Chicago, last week, Mrs. Anna Sweet was brought into court charged with stealing a pair of gloves from a department store valued at \$30. She is a widow. Her husband was James Sweet, a wealthy speculator who lost his fortune on the board of trade gambling in wheat. The daughter, Mrs. Geo. E. Freyer, was also before the court.

When the case was called a wealthy business man got up and pleaded for them. Said he, "There is no doubt that both these women are REFINED and once held good positions in life."

And the judge let them go. I'm glad that he did. To lock them up would have helped nobody, and only injured and hardened them. The reason I mention it at all is to contrast this court decision with our own state. The Chicago woman in to-k what could only adorn her. There is more comfort in a pair of 25-cent mits than in a pair of \$30 gloves. Last summer a St. Louis woman was called to the bedside of her widowed sick sister out in the state. Both were poor. Finally all the food in the house was exhausted. The St. Louis woman could not go out and work for she had to care for the sister. The sister needed nourishment—and there was none in sight. Too proud to beg the well sister discovered eggs in a freight car and took half dozen. For this she was sent to the penitentiary for three years.

She was not "refined," nor had she "once held a good position in life." Evidently she had always been poor. There was no wealthy business man to plead for her.

STOP THE WARS.

One thing we must never forget, namely, that the infinitely most important work for us is the humane education of the millions who are soon to come on the stage of action.—Geo. T. Angell.

PENDING REVOLUTION.

Chicago Daily Socialist.
John W. Kern, candidate for vice president on the Democratic ticket, is the latest of the large number to begin seeing things in a recent interview he is quoted as saying:

There is a dangerous and dominant Socialist sentiment in the United States that has not yet come into the open, that has not yet demonstrated itself from the Republican and Democratic parties. Hundreds of thousands of secret Socialists are still voting the old tickets. No one can tell what would happen if they should break through the traditions that now restrain them to vote the way they think is right. I am afraid we should witness a revolution; not a revolution of blood—I would not let myself believe such a thing is possible in America—but a revolution of property.

This same fact has been noted by many others. It is one of the biggest facts in American politics—this vast number of people who if they are not really Socialists are ready for the acceptance of Socialism.

Further on in the same interview he admits that the Democratic party is practically dead, that it cannot hope for victory in a national presidential election. It would not be hard to find plenty of similar opinions expressed by Republicans concerning that party. The entire "naughty" movement applies death to the party of Aldrich and Cannon.

The leaders, the office holders with radical opinions in the Republican and Democratic parties are looking with long eyes upon the discredited leaders of organized labor.

The one thing which all of the leaders and politicians fear is a spontaneous movement of the rank and file that has hitherto followed them. Any such spontaneous movement would inevitably land in the Socialist party. To forestall this threatened revolution these leaders are seeking to form a coalition from above. They are trying to discover some sort of a "gentleman's agreement" that shall bring together Bryan Democrats, La Follette Republicans and Civic Federation unionists, and that WILL DEFLECT SOCIALISM AND KEEP ALL OF THEIR FOLLOWERS IN POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY.

Such a party would be another reform without reform that would lead the voters into the morasses of political hopelessness. At the present time it has developed but one principle upon which there is any hope of agreement. This is the worn-out, moth-eaten issue of tariff reform. But platforms are easy to construct and easier forgotten.

The one obstacle that stands in the road of such a movement is the Socialist party. If by any means the Socialist party could be driven out of the field or transformed into an innocuous controlling sect, the road would be clear for the coming organization.

There are tremendous tasks before the Socialist party of the United States during the next few years—no less a task than preparing the way for a revolution in property that Kern fears and that we welcome. There is work of agitation that calls for the best men and women that we can produce. There is work of education that makes imperative an immediate strengthening of every agent for that purpose, and especially our press. There is a work of organization before the Socialists that makes imperative a thorough overhauling of every section of our party machinery and a utilization of every energy.

THERE IS WORK AHEAD FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY. FOR WE WANT THAT REVOLUTION THAT KERN AND OTHERS ARE FEARING.

Bernard Shaw, the English playwright, declined an invitation to come over from London and eat Christmas dinner with a rich New Yorker, saying: "To go back to America is to go back a century in civilization." He added, "How can you call America free when you know of the frightful condition of child labor in the cotton mills of South Carolina." Gosh, but that is a severe rap to our boasted enlightenment. And the ugly part of it is its truth.

Geel! But there seems to be a powerful lot of "investigating" necessary at Washington. Things appear so rotten over there that a good disinfectant might help some. But their whitewash don't cover up things like it used to. I'd like to be on the committee to "investigate" the sugar trust swindles and land frauds. I'd wind up loaded down with sugar stock and a few plantations. Geel, but such a job is a cinch.

"Stagnant water corrupts itself; so do idle men," says a capitalist exchange. Perhaps that is why things are so rotten in the upper circle of society. But the capitalist editor does not see the idle rich. He sees only the product of the idle rich—the tramp.

ANOTHER FARGE ENDED.

The two-cent rate case has at last been taken off the boards. Your state legislature, supposed to be your representatives, enacted a law making two cents a mile the maximum charge for passenger traffic on railroads. At the same session, three years ago, they enacted a maximum freight rate and several other laws that the people wanted.

The maximum freight rate and the several laws demanded by the people were put to sleep by the courts without any unusual noise. They were laws that would benefit the farmer—the consumer—and nobody represents these.

But the passenger rate business—that was different. It affected the middle class—the druggists, small merchants, professional men, and so on—who do most of the traveling. Therefore the howl.

The first dash out of the box a federal judge who does not live in the state set the law aside. The state court granted an injunction forbidding the federal court from interfering with a state law. The federal court then granted a counter injunction forbidding the state court from butting in. The federal court had the biggest army behind it, and therefore its deed stood.

But the governor and the attorney general four-flush around—in the papers—and told what they were going to do. The Kicker told its readers at the time that this bluster was for show, and to keep the masses in ignorance of the real character of the government at they are living under. In a St. Louis paper appears the following:

"With the dismissal of the injunction suit of Circuit Attorney Scott G. Jones against 13 Missouri railroads to restrain them from charging more than 2 cents a mile passenger fares in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, in St. Louis, Wednesday, the state officials capitulated to the railroads in the 2-cent fare fight and announced their intention of making no further effort to enforce that rate."

Here another farce is ended—and the Kicker can again say "I told you so." But some lawyers and officials have got some mighty fat fees out of it at your expense.

It is the sheerest nonsense to talk about curbing a limited capital. The officials know better, but they must keep some sort of a gallery play before the people to amuse them. Organized capital owns the courts and the officials, and every citizen with a spoonful of brains knows this. "The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties," says the Democratic platform, which was written by Standard Oil Hackler, who ought to know. The Republican platform says practically the same thing—only that it is worded differently.

What is the use of the people being taxed millions of dollars annually to pay United States senators and congressmen and state legislatures, when a federal judge can and does set aside any law they may enact at all favorable to the people.

Can't a blind man see that this is not a government by the people, but by corporation judges? And you vote for it!

THE CAPITALISTS' WAY.

Some of the best arguments for Socialism are to be found in the capitalist papers, as witness the following, clipped from the Chicago Daily Journal:

The business manager of one of our large commercial institutions was approached by an employee with a request for a raise in his salary.

"What claim have you for a raise?" was asked.

"I think the work I do is worth it," was the answer.

"Worth it," said the manager. "How do you suppose we can pay dividends if we pay every employee the full value for all the work he does?"

"Work hard," said the bookkeeper, "and consume less than you produce and I will provide a system of boxes to store your money in—for me."

"Work hard," said the monopolist, "and save part of your earnings and we will provide a system of banks to keep your money safe—for us"—Puck.

IN A NUT SHELL.

There was a little bachelor who lived all by himself. And all the bread and cheese he got he put upon a shelf; yet he couldn't keep a valet, nor a laundress nor a cook. So he sighed, "For something very cheap in servants I must look." In glancing round he found a wife and married her, my son, and now he's got a valet, cook and laundress all in one!—Ex.

THINGS WARMING UP.

Things are warming up at Washington. There are so many "wounds" that it seems impossible to keep the lid on. Pinchot, who exposed the gigantic land steals, has just been fired by Taft. It is always so. You must tell tales out of school if you want to hold your job under capitalism.

But the most encouraging news that comes from Washington is the breaking of the Cannon-Taft-Aldrich power. Billinger is at the head of the forestry department that is to be investigated. Coudry Cannon appoints the investigating committee. But the "insurgents" as the rebellious Republicans who oppose gag rule, are called, wouldn't stand for that sort of a farce. By a vote of 149 to 145 it was decided that congress and not the speaker, appoint the committee. This would indicate that a real investigation might occur. A dispatch from Washington says:

Washington, D. C., Jan. 11.—This city is in a fever of expectation. These events have just taken place which are not only of the serious which is to split the Republican party, driving the progressive Republicans into one party and the reactionary Republicans into another.

President Taft, in a letter such as a king might have written to a disloyal subject, has dismissed Clifford Pinchot, chief forester, for the letter sent to Senator Billinger, demanding Billinger's resignation. On the very day of that action came a vote in the house of representatives, 149 against Speaker Cannon and 145 for him, thus decreasing the congressional committee which is to probe the Pinchot-Billinger controversy shall be elected by the house of representatives and not appointed by Speaker Cannon.

The vote meant more than that. It was the margin was President Taft, and Speaker Cannon as an "administration man" and Cannon will be depended on to drive the Taft policies through the house, passing them on to Senators Aldrich and Root in the senate.

The vote was a vote of lack of confidence not only in Cannon, but in Taft. Taft in his letter dismissing Pinchot, shows that the president expects to exercise discipline to prevail in the government department and that he will not subordinate himself to the right to prevent any one to come through the heads of the respective departments.

This is a big rule and presents the simple expedient of placing in the hands of corporation lawyers the entire say as to what the people shall know concerning government affairs.

NEW STATE SECRETARY.

As a result of the recent referendum vote of the Socialists of the state, E. T. Bingham and W. M. Allister were elected national committeemen and R. R. Rittin, state secretary. All business pertaining to the state of Missouri shall now be addressed to R. R. Rittin, 1928, Main Street, St. Louis, Mo. Otto Paul, of St. Louis, the retiring secretary, makes the announcement concerning the outlook for 1910:

"No one is more entitled to view the future with confidence than the Socialists. All indications point to a splendid awakening of the working class, and the close of 1910 will surely show great forward strides have been made. Within the party there is a real tendency now to quit the organizing and 'socializing' racket and to real work. The reputation of phrases instead of words is giving place to a realization of the necessity for actual participation in the class war."

The party organization in Missouri is in better shape for the campaign of 1910 than it has ever been in any previous campaign. It is still some distance from perfection, but with co-operation among the comrades the prospects for a splendid victory are excellent. The incoming secretary will make his plans known in due time and locals should give vigorous support to preparations for launching complete tickets in the representative districts. With every comrade doing his duty the result is sure to be of a most encouraging nature."

PUBLIC SALE.

On Thursday, January 20, 1910, at the Jeff Roberts place, at Brooks Junction, beginning at 10 o'clock, a. m., I will sell six head of work mules, 2 milk cows, with calves, one yearling, a lot of hogs, a farm and log wagon combined, buggy and harness, a lot of plows, a new Johnson mower, about 200 bushels of corn, 150 bushels of first-class timothy and pea hay, household and kitchen furniture and many other articles.

TERMS: \$5 and under, cash; over \$5 a credit of 10 months will be given, purchaser giving 8 per cent note with approved security. No interest paid when due. No property to be removed until terms are complied with. JOHN C. SELLERS.